DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 128 122 RC 009 385

AUTHOR Gasparini, Alberto
TITLE Job Images and Their Influence on Adolescents' Vocational Choice.
REPORT NO Sem-15
PUB DATE Aug 76
NOTE 33p.; Paper presented at Seminar 15, "Rural Youth: Human Resource or Human Burden?" of the World Congress of Rural Sociology (4th, Torun, Poland, August 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Agriculture; Criteria; Cultural Background; *Factor Analysis; Industry; *Motivation; *Occupational Choice; *Rural Youth; Self Actualization; *Socioeconomic Influences
IDENTIFIERS Italy; Italy (Cosenza); Italy (Latina); Italy (Reggio Emilia); Italy (Treviso); *World Congress of Rural Sociology (4th)

ABSTRACT

The vocational choices (industrial and/or agricultural) of 863 adolescents from 4 rural Italian provinces of differing socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds were analyzed in terms of the motivational need underlying vocational choice. These provinces included the traditionally rural Cosenza in southern Italy, the more developed Treviso and Reggio Emilia in the north, and the heterogeneous city of Latina in central Italy. The latent and more general connotations associated with agricultural and industrial work were surveyed via a questionnaire consisting of 2 series of 15 adjective scales (independent, secure, simple, prestigious, original, requiring initiative, free, monotonous, requiring sacrifice, remunerative, risky, satisfying, sanitary, technical, and specialized). Four factor analyses were made for each occupational orientation. Essentially paralleling the four provinces, the factors were: physical strength required; technological specialization; self-realization; remunerativeness as a source of satisfaction/security; simplicity as source of security; remunerativeness and/or simplicity as giving security. Results indicated: vocational images did condition adolescent choice; Treviso and Reggio Emilia adolescents were motivated by personal self-realization in the job; in Latina and Cosenza, instrumental motivations were operative which were both external and internal to the job itself as well as to degree of self-realization. (JC)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED128122

FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

NINTH EUROPEAN CONGRESS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

August 9-13, 1976

Torun, Poland

THEME:

The Integrated Development of Human and Natural Resources: The Contribution of Rural Sociology

Seminar 15: Rural Youth: Human Resource or Human Burden?

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED009385

ED128122

Alberto Gasparini
Institute of International Sociology
Gorizia (Italy)

JOB IMAGES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ADOLESCENTS' VOCATIONAL CHOICE

Paper presented to the
fourth World Congress of Rural Sociology
Torun, August 9-13, 1976

KC0093385

1. The Problem

Adolescents of 14 to 15 years of age, who have completed their obligatory schooling, are conditioned in their vocational or scholastic choices by many factors, which derive from the economic and societal value system and structure (which may be more or less advanced), as well as from the school, the family, and the peer group. Such conditioning is more pronounced in the case of rural youth, not only because of different housing and socialization conditions and economic structures, but also often because the cultural values dominant in rural areas are rather special and somehow different from those prevalent in urban areas. In fact, the rural environment is still relatively isolated, both culturally (from urban and industrial values) and in terms of human relations (owing to its sparse population, which in the case of adolescents means infrequent contact with their peers); moreover, the rural family is dependent on traditional, craftsman-like, subsistence-insuring productive systems, and preserves models of action which are more intuitive than rational, performing a job which is not considered to be a trade and hence is not esteemed in itself, for the specialization it involves, but is a job which one begins early in life and to which one soon becomes socialized.

These conditionings, their specification and extent, have been analyzed in a complex and detailed sociological study of four Italian provinces with differing degrees of modernization in social, economic, and cultural terms.

Against this environmental background (traditional vs. modern), the degree to which conventional images and job stereotypes condition the vocational or scholastic choices of adolescents has been examined. This choice is of great importance for the adolescent's future: it determines whether he will end up in agriculture, industry, or tertiary activities, whether he will stop in his family's social position or try to climb to a higher rung on the social ladder (without ever knowing precisely how high the rung may be).

The study of vocational stereotypes, and, more generally, of the meanings attributed to various jobs has acquired a long tradition and a considerable mass of experience. As a matter of fact, the first researches on vocational stereotypes, conducted by Rice and Litterer in 1926, antedate those on ethnic stereotypes. Often the vocational concepts studied regard

the three main productive sectors: the small farmer for agriculture, the manual laborer for industry, and the professional man for the tertiary sector.

The concept of work is broken down and analyzed with regard to many factors: economic, material, interpersonal (relations with others), personal (its potential for self-realization). We may refer here to the many studies of Friedmann and Havighurst (1954), Super (1957), Rosenberg (1957), Ingham (1970), and Gasson (1974).

The perception of these factors, or meanings, is in turn conditioned by one's experience of the job, one's direct or indirect knowledge of it, and the prestige that the social system attributes to it. This is demonstrated by one of our findings: in traditional rural areas (as opposed to more modern ones) agricultural labor is considerably underestimated and industrial labor correspondingly overestimated. All this goes to show how great an influence may be exercised by the degree of stereotyping on vocational evaluations and hence on the leanings and choices of the individual.

Furthermore, the various implications or meanings of the concept of work directly involve the individual's needs (cfr. the hierarchy of human needs developed by Maslow); thus, work may come to satisfy certain specific individual needs, such as economic or vocational security, self-esteem, self-realization.

According to Maslow's theory of needs, only when his lower needs (such as survival) are satisfied does an individual begin to heed higher needs (safety, security, and so on up to self-realization). Starting from this presupposition, R. Gasson theorizes that the satisfaction of individual needs that lies at the basis of any vocational option changes gradually as one passes from traditional to modern environments, and from low to high socio-economic status.

Obviously, for the purposes of our study of the cultural causes involved in the concepts of agricultural and industrial work which influence the vocational choices of rural adolescents, it is important to distinguish the type of needs that they expect to be satisfied by the type of work for which they opt. In particular, if agricultural labor is opted for, one may observe how this job is considered, i.e. whether it is merely instrumental in obtaining security, prestige, etc., or whether it is viewed as tending to lead to self-realization.

A correct appraisal of the motivation of such a choice is very important, inasmuch as it allows us to understand today the personality structure of tomorrow's farmers.

2. The Field of Study: Four Italian Provinces

An adolescent's orientation towards his own future depends on many variables: whether he lives in an isolated or highly urbanized area; whether his standard of living is high or low; whether society is highly mobile or largely stable; whether the excess rural population finds an outlet in the industrial areas of the region or emigrates to more highly developed areas of other regions or countries; whether the process of rationalization of farming techniques has a long and enlightened tradition, or has not even begun, the agricultural activity thus remaining at a subsistence level; whether the interrelationships of the diverse social elements of the countryside are more or less intense; whether, in sum, a traditional society in which the social functions are exercised by a few institutions is giving way to a more modern society in which rational behavioral patterns prevail and the social functions are entrusted to a multiplicity of institutions.

Such was the complexity of the problem that it was felt necessary to compare different rural contexts (and hence different social and economic realities).

On the one hand, Cosenza, in Southern Italy, may be considered representative of a rural and social situation which is still basically traditional (although even here changes are to be observed); up to now it has remained rather isolated and marked by a geographical and environmental situation which renders difficult a new, incisive agricultural development. On the other hand, the northern provinces of Reggio Emilia and Treviso may be taken as indicative of a developed economic area such as the Po Valley. There are, however, differences between the agricultures of these two provinces; for, though the soil is much the same in both cases, the use patterns to which it is put vary according to the local culture and structure of land ownership, but above all because of the different social evolution of the rural classes, the different degree of industrialization, and the more or less recent reception given to progressive ideas and hence the different relationship to tradition.

The fourth area of study is the province of Latina, in central Italy. It was officially born in 1934. Until that time most of the territory was swampy and malarial, and consequently uninhabited, left to itself. The ambitious land reclamation project of the Pontine marshes established the city of Latina, as well as smaller towns and villages, which served as vital nerve centers for the new human settlement. The population came from the Veneto, Emilia and Romagna, and some from local areas; later they were joined by Southern Italians and Italian emigrants from Istria, Tunisia and Libya. These two factors (the nearly total absence of inhabitants before reclamation and the heterogeneousness of the new inhabitants' cultural backgrounds) make it possible, at least theoretically, to analyze in depth certain mechanisms of change in social classes and systems which are more closely tied than others to traditional values.

3. The connotations of agricultural and industrial labor

3.1. The research method

The working scheme used to study the implications of the two types of work consists of two series of fifteen adjective scales (divided into "very", "fairly", "not very", "not at all") regarding some aspects of work in general, the personal satisfaction expected from it, and the degree of technological change involved in it. The adjectives used in the questionnaire are: independent, secure, simple,prestigious, original, requiring initiative, free, monotonous, requiring sacrifice, remunerative, risky, satisfying, sanitary, specialized, technical.

These fifteen adjective scales point up obvious features of agricultural and industrial labor. Presumably, they refer to latent and more general connotations of the concepts of the two types of work. Thus it becomes important, for our purposes, to identify the underlying connotations by isolating clusters which constitute a factor independent of the others, and also by analyzing the internal structure of each of these factors, identifying the direction and the entity of the loadings of the adjectives with the factor.

Factor analysis is the most appropriate method for elaborating such data. Here it is used in the solution of the main components, followed

by orthogonal rotation in accordance with the "varimax" method.

Eight factor analyses were made (four for the concept of "agricultural work", and four for "industrial work"). The vocational connotations they refere to, and which are hence implied in the two concepts, are indicated by the following factors (which, in the main, are parallel for the four provinces): technological specialization; physical strength required; self-tealization; remunerativeness as a source of satisfaction and security; simplicity as a source of security; remunerativeness as giving prestige and security; remunerativeness and/or simplicity as giving security.

At this point it is useful to give a brief sketch of the semantic connotations of the two concepts, with a short discussion of the loading coefficients of the adjectives that compose them.

3.2. Agricultural labor

Parallel factor I: Technological specialization

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Specialized	.84	.86	.91	.85
Technical	.80	.84	.87	.86
Secure	.56	.08	.14	-.09
Satisfying	.53	.08	.18	.33
Sanitary	.44	.20	.52	.31
Remunerative	.43	.04	.05	.07

Given the high loading in "specialized" and "technical", the first parallel factor may be called "technological specialization", in the sense that specialization in agricultural labor is obtained by greater knowledge and use of farming technology. This implies a conception of agricultural labor as a trade, which thus requires specialized training. Such training should not be limited to the knowledge of farming techniques, but should include some acquaintance with industrial techniques, machinery, the "professionalization" of some phases of agricultural labor, etc.

In general, technological specialization is positively correlated with good sanitary conditions. This means that young people coming from rural environments where such specialization exists are assured of the industrial respectability of agricultural work, in which the most depressing and "un-

dignified" aspects are left to machines, these modern servants of man.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that the young people of Treviso enlarge the semantic connotations of this concept, connecting it with such important features as security, satisfaction, and remunerativeness. Apparently, for these adolescents the actual possession of a trade, or the aspiration to have one, gives security in its remunerativeness and, perhaps, in the interchangeability of agricultural and industrial labor; for this reason they derive psychological satisfaction from the feeling of having a type of employment which is no less modern for being in the agricultural sector.

Parallel factor II: Physical strength

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Risky	.72	.71	.80	.79
Monotonous	.56	.39	.22	.36
Requiring sacrifice	.44	.78	.76	.75
Simple	.44	.06	.05	.02
Secure	.40	.26	-.02	.08
Requiring initiative	-.02	-.20	-.52	-.05

The parallelism between the four factors is very high, especially between the provinces of Reggio Emilia, Latina and Cosenza. At Treviso "monotonous" tends to replace "requiring sacrifice" among the adjectives that most heavily load the factor, and the presence of the adjectives "simple" and "secure" render the meaning even more complex.

There is a basic association between the degree of heavy manual labor required and the risk involved; thus, for a rural adolescent a job "requires sacrifice" if it is "risky" and vice versa.

Parallel factor III: Remunerativeness as giving satisfaction and security

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Remunerative	.43	.80	-.84	.73
Satisfying	.53	.61	-.64	.58
Sanitary	.44	.63	-.20	.63
Secure	.56	.47	-.49	.47
Prestigious	.23	.06	-.53	.61
Free	.05	.53	.14	.37
Specialized	.84	.03	-.06	.24
Technical	.80	.17	-.15	.17

The four factors share the adjectives relating to psychological satisfaction and security (expressed in terms of remunerativeness). The economic security expected from agricultural work indicates an attitude which is widespread in evaluating vocations, since it is encountered even in the case of industrial labor. On the other hand, such economic security is not in contradiction with a modern attitude, which stresses open-mindedness and initiative, because it disassociates security from anxiety of the new or from ownership and from the type of interaction with others in agricultural work, and founds this security on the fluctuating fortunes of economic interests.

This kind of security is a necessary but not sufficient condition to indicate a modern attitude in considering entrepreneural activity in agriculture. There are many reasons for this: (1) often even those who do not desire to undertake an entrepreneural role in agriculture may base the security of their jobs (in industry, for example) on "how much they earn", and use this as a yardstick for comparing jobs of choosing one rather than another. (2) The adjective "secure" shows a low and diffused loading with regard to all the factors of the four factor analyses. This means that the adjective acquires a plethora of meanings, which refer to remunerativeness, simplicity, riskiness, etc. (3) Within the general indication "remunerativeness as giving security", there are different "syndromes", inasmuch as the structure of the factor at Treviso is different from that in Reggio Emilia, and both differ from those of Latina and Cosenza.

Parallel factor IV: Simplicity as a source of security

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Simple	.44	.76	.84	.89
Secure	.40	.32	.60	.62
Monotonous	-.56	.56	.26	.32
Risky	-.72	.03	-.06	.03
Requiring initiative	-.02	-.47	.07	-.04
Requiring sacrifice	-.44	-.03	-.03	-.08

Although a certain basic parallelism exists in the connotations of security and simplicity in agricultural labor, there are some significant differences between the four areas studied, and in particular between Reggio Emilia, on the one hand, and Treviso, Latina and Cosenza on the other.

For the adolescents of Reggio Emilia, if agricultural work is considered "simple", it is also considered "monotonous" and as "not requiring initiative"; vice versa, when it is considered complex, it is also varied, pleasant, and requires initiative. This conception of the simplicity or complexity of agricultural work is based on concrete and objective criteria, rather than on subjective and emotional evaluations.

The adolescents of Treviso interpret the simplicity and security of agricultural work more in material and concrete terms (not risky, not monotonous, not fatiguing).

At Latina and Cosenza the prevalent notion of security is closely tied up with the simplicity of agricultural work. This demonstrates a certain anxiety towards whatever is complex, as happens in industrial labor. There seems to be some ambivalence towards technological specialization. On the one hand, it is acknowledged that such specialization gives greater prestige, a higher income, more sanitary working conditions, etc.; on the other hand, there is an attitude of insecurity towards that "unexplored" side of agriculture, and the temptation to revalue the simplicity of the rhythms of the traditional manner of farming.

Parallel factor V: Self-realization

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Free	-.75	.42	.69	-.51
Independent	-.56	.68	.58	-.16
Requiring initiative	-.60	.47	.52	-.81
Original	-.16	.66	.46	-.72
Prestigious	.21	.56	.27	-.16
Requiring sacrifice	-.60	-.04	-.11	.03
Monotonous	.11	-.27	-.54	-.11

This factor centers around the adjectives relating to the type of action implied in agricultural work; independent, requiring initiative, free, original. The action these adjectives refer to is taken in reference to other people. Agricultural work is felt to be independent of others, hence free from external conditionings, thus requiring initiative, and finally original.

The differences between the four situations regard only marginal aspects of the concept of self-realization. For the young people of Tre-

viso, the freedom, independence, and initiative of action implied in this kind of agricultural work involve sacrifices in carrying it out; whereas for the young people of Reggio Emilie it confers prestige, and they end up by judging it varied and not monotonous.

3.3. Work in industry

Parallel factor in Self-realization

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Requiring initiative	.78	.73	-.77	.76
Original	.69	.52	-.60	.71
Independent	.45	.65	-.71	.37
Free	.64	.66	-.66	.26
Prestigious	.24	.35	-.56	.26
Satisfying	.41	.38	-.48	.06
Monotonous	-.21	-.37	.18	-.44
Requiring sacrifice	-.12	-.08	.05	-.44

"Self-realization" here is explained by the nature of industrial labor, which is carried out in relation to other individuals. Thus qualities such as initiative, freedom, and independence take on especial significance. May one conclude that these adolescents consider a job original, and indirectly prestige-giving, when it is free and requires initiative? It really seems that these young people have developed their image of industrial and agricultural work in these terms.

Even the prestige of industrial labor falls into this image, either directly in the structure of the factor (as in Latina) or indirectly, with a consistently significant loading (as in the other three provinces).

"Self-realization" is bound up with emotional satisfaction in three of the four provinces (Cosenza is the exception). This semantic connotation, so interesting and complete on account of the foundation of prestige and satisfaction that "self-realization" comes to assume, seems to indicate a not easily attainable ideal, inasmuch as independence, initiative, and freedom are seldom to be found in industrial types of labor.

Parallel factor II: Technological specialization

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Specialized	.83	-.88	.86	-.86
Technical	.89	-.84	.83	-.84
Sanitary	.17	-.48	.45	-.65
Secure	-.27	-.06	.64	-.05
Remunerative	.25	-.07	.46	-.21
Satisfying	.15	-.25	.45	-.24
Simple	-.01	-.10	.41	-.27

There is a strong parallelism both for the adjectives that compose the factors and for their degree of loading. The true meaning of technological specialization is not to be found so much in the need for vocational training as in its consequences. In fact, a highly mechanized job is less "dirty" than manual labor which is performed without the aid of machines. This association of "technical" and "specialized" with the adjective "sanitary" leads one to consider the consequences of such specialization (i.e., cleanliness).

The situation at Latina is more complex. There, indeed, other implications or expectations connected with "technological specialization" are "sanitary conditions", "remunerativeness","security", and "psychological satisfaction".

Parallel factor III : Physical strength

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Requiring sacrifice	.75	-.68	-.70	-.54
Monotonous	.72	-.61	-.60	-.03
Risky	.36	-.73	-.67	-.87
Independent	-.54	-.08	-.04	-.44
Sanitary	-.46	.24	.32	.06
Free	-.41	.28	-.02	.12

The third parallel factor may be called "physical strength", as it is conceptually similar to the corresponding concept of agricultural work. Also in the case of industrial work, rural adolescents relate physical strength,

or fatiguingness, with the monotonous and risky character of the work (where the risk is more physical than economic). Furthermore, except for Cosenza, there is a general propensity to associate these negative features with unsanitary working conditions; consequently, the absence of these features comes to be synonymous with a "clean" job. Considering that even highly technical and specialized jobs in industry are judged to be sanitary, it is easy to see that specialization is viewed as a sort of panacea by means of which some of the most undesirable aspects of work can be overcome.

The model described at the beginning of this discussion of physical strength appears with greater clarity at Reggio Emilia and Latina, while at Treviso and Cosenza it takes on broader and more problematical connotations with the inclusion in the concept of the adjective "independent".

Parallel factor IVa: Remunerativeness as a source of prestige and security

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Prestigious	.70			.58
Remunerative	.61			.70
Secure	.49			.52
Satisfying	.41			.76
Sanitary	.48			.13
Monotonous	-.06			-.54

In the fourth factor, the parallelism is divided into two conceptual dimensions. In the first, relating to Treviso and Cosenza, prestige and remunerativeness are directly connected with security; in the second, relating to Reggio Emilia and Cosenza, security is connected with remunerativeness and simplicity.

The components of the first part of this factor are substantially the same, even though the degree of loading varies. Prestige and remunerativeness, inasmuch as they are connected with security, may be considered necessary conditions in order that industrial labor be secure. In its turn, such security gives rise to psychological satisfaction ("satisfying"). Thus security here is to be analyzed in terms of economic convenience and the enhancement of one's job status ("prestigious").

Parallel factor IV b: Remunerativeness and /or simplicity as a source of security

	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza
Simple		-.59		.70
Secure		-.53		.64
Remunerative		-.62		.22
Monotonous		-.42		.30
Free		-.32		.67
Independent		-.32		.58

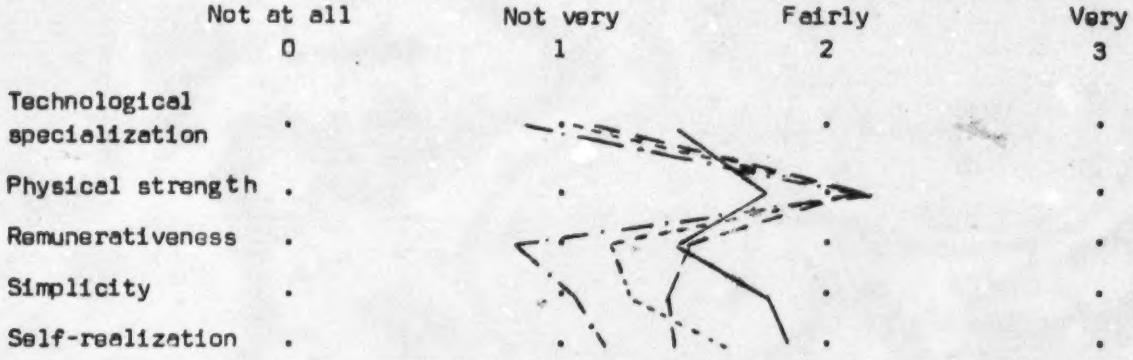
The second dimension of the concept of security regards Reggio Emilia and, once more, Cosenza. It is to be analyzed in terms of simplicity and/or remunerativeness. The parallelism here is not perfect: for the adolescents of Reggio Emilia, in fact, security is associated not only with the wage level that the job offers, but also with the simplicity of the activity involved. In this way they attempt to banish the anxiety they feel towards the complex rhythms of industrial work. The young people of Cosenza place even greater emphasis on the simplicity of the work as a source of security, which thus is largely a psychological defense against the anxiety that complicated industrial work arouses.

3.4. General considerations on the profile of the semantic connotations of the two concepts

First of all, it should be noted that the parallelism of the semantic connotations of the concepts of industrial and agricultural labor is greater for the former than for the latter. This result should come as no surprise if one considers that the conception of industrial labor these rural adolescents have acquired is a reflection of the image of it presented to them by the state schools and by the mass media, and hence it is rooted in the general values of an industrial society. Their image of agricultural work, on the other hand, depends more concretely on the specific situation of their families and their rural area.

Secondly, a comparison of the profiles taken on by the meanings of the concepts shows that industrial work is favored by its greater technological specialization, remunerativeness, and lesser physical effort required, while agricultural labor is thought to give greater possibilities of self-realization. However, these tendencies vary in accordance with

Figure 1 - Profile for the four provinces of the meanings attributed by the adolescents to agricultural work



Legend of the provinces: Treviso ——— ; Reggio E. — — — ; Latina -------; Cosenza — · — · —

Figure 2 - Profile for the four provinces of the meanings attributed by the adolescents to industrial work

Legend of the provinces: Treviso ——— ; Reggio E. — — — ; Latina -------; Cosenza — · — · —

whether the cultural environment in which the adolescents live is more or less traditional or modern. In fact, in Cosenza there is a tendency to overestimate industrial labor and definitely underestimate agricultural work. As one moves towards more modern areas, the judgments given of the two types of vocation tend to become less one-sided and to be expressed in less stereotyped forms.

Obviously, all this influences the choices of future job made by rural adolescents. Their decisions depend on their expectations and values, as, for example, whether greater weight is attached to self-realization or to such factors as higher pay, security, and technological specialization.

4. Appeal of the vocational or scholastic choices made by rural adolescents

A brief reminder of the orientations, aspirations and vocational or scholastic choices of these adolescents is indispensable if one wishes to understand better the cultural causes underlying them.

The aspirations of the adolescents concerned coincide to a large extent with the desires of their parents for them.

Of the young people sampled, 65% desire to continue their studies; most of these wish to study subjects which lead to employment in the tertiary sector. Fewer than 10% of them opt for agriculture; about half of them intend to study agrarian science, the others expect to go to work immediately. The decision to study is more common in the Southern provinces, where the opposite is true for vocational choices.

For the most part (70%) such choices are made for "expressive" subjective reasons, because the school indicated is "liked". The other 30% make "instrumental" choices with an ulterior aim in mind.

The agrarian and industrial schools preferred are located near home, whereas they are far away (sometimes very far away) in the case of more difficult schools, or when only a non-specific decision to "go on studying" is made.

Whether an adolescent expresses one aspiration or another depends on diverse factors, such as: the number of school years repeated, if any; job experience during school years; sex; subjective (expressive) or instrumental motivations; the distance between school and home; number of siblings; the structure of the family and its pressure to make a specific

Table 1 - Adolescents' scholastic and vocational choices and provinces of residence

Adolescents' scholastic and vocational choices:	Province of residence:				
	Treviso	Reggio E.	Latina	Cosenza	In general
Study:					
Industrial vocational/ technical high schools	15,3	13,4	11,5	18,3	14,7
Commercial vocational/ technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.	25,1	25,7	43,8	41,7	34,0
Agrarian vocational/ technical high schools	4,7	4,9	2,9	8,7	5,3
Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school	8,5	12,4	13,0	10,6	11,0
Go to work immediately:					
Agricultural work	2,5	4,0	7,2	2,8	4,1
Specified non-agricultural jobs	23,0	22,8	14,9	12,8	18,4
Go to work (non-specific)	13,2	3,4	1,4	1,4	5,1
Does not know	7,7	13,4	5,3	3,7	7,4
Totals	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
	(235)	(202)	(208)	(218)	(863)

$\chi^2 = 90.436$ $p < .001$ $C = .32$

choice; and, last but not least, the internalized image the adolescent has of agricultural and industrial labor: whether it is self-realizing, specialized, fatiguing, secure, or not.

5. How the images of agricultural and industrial work influence vocational choices

In order to verify how such cultural images condition vocational choices, it is necessary to make a scale (test) of the variables that compose each of the factors examined in the preceding section. That is, the factor must be measured.

For this purpose, the most appropriate test, for a first approximation, is Snedecor's "F", which is here utilized.

The application of this test ("F") indicates the following cultural dimensions as conditioning the vocational or scholastic choices of the rural adolescents. Namely, their choices are significantly influenced by attitude towards:

1) the "self-realization" of agricultural work, for those of Treviso ($F = 2.35$; $p < .05$);
2) the "self-realizing potential" ($F = 3.63$; $p < .001$) and "fatiguingness" (physical strength) ($F = 4.51$; $p < .001$) of industrial labor, for those of Treviso;
3) the "self-realizing potential" of agricultural work ($F = 2.42$; $p < .01$), for those of Reggio Emilia;
4) the "fatiguingness" (physical strength) of agricultural work ($F = 2.21$; $p < .05$), for those of Latina;
5) the "fatiguingness" (physical strength) of industrial work ($F = 1.99$; $p < .05$), for those of Latina;
6) the "technological specialization" of industrial work ($F = 2.90$; $p < .01$), for those of Cosenza.

Since the "F" test of Snedecor gives a rather approximate indication of the meaningfulness of such conditionings, it may be interesting to report some other conditionings which, though not significant generally, may be so locally. These are differentiations among the various choices which, according to the "F" test of Snedecor, are almost significant (from .05 to .10). Thus one observes a tendency for the choice made to be conditioned by attitudes towards:

1) the fatiguingness ("physical strength") of agricultural work, for those of Treviso;
2) the "technological specialization" of agricultural work, for those of Reggio Emilia;
3) the "remunerativeness as a source of satisfaction and security" of agricultural work, for those of Latina;
4) the "self-realizing potential" of industrial work, for those of Latina;
5) the "self-realizing potential" of industrial work, for those of Cosenza.

The basic cultural images which structure the concept and idea of agricultural and industrial work, and which influence vocational choices, are "technological specialization" and "fatiguingness" ("the physical strength"), which characterize such work, and the "self-realization" ensured to the person who performs it. This cultural influence in its turn depends on many other causes, which refer not only to the "way" in which the work is carried on but also to the social esteem in which it is held and the satisfaction it can offer. It is for this reason that the cultural conditioning on vocational choices acquires different specific connotations and importance in the four provinces.

At Treviso, the adolescents' choices are conditioned by the "self-realization" that agricultural and industrial work can offer, and by the physical features characterizing the two types of work, while "technological specialization" is not particularly required for their specific vocations or scholastic decisions. At Reggio Emilia, too, the greater or lesser "self-realization" offered by agricultural work takes on decisive importance for the scholastic or vocational choice; in second place comes "technological specialization".

The characteristics of industrial work do not lead to particular decisions, inasmuch as all the adolescents considered have developed similar ideas of such work. This means that they have all acquired the same ideas and images of industrial labor, and hence these ideas do not influence their vocational or scholastic choices in any way, not even in the case of one who desires to undertake activities or studies which lead to careers in industry. In other words, the choice of industrial work is conditioned by attitudes, values and situations which have nothing to do with the specific characteristics of industrial work or the satisfaction it can give. This confirms the "instrumental motivation" underlying such a choice, a

fact which has already been observed in other social environments.

At Latina, the adolescents' choices are influenced by the physical characteristics ("physical strength"), or the greater or lesser amount of fatiguing physical labor required by agricultural or industrial work in their conceptions of them. The other semantic components do not seem to assume the same importance they have in the Northern provinces (as regards "self-realization"), or even in Cosenza ("technological specialization").

Lastly, it should be observed that at Cosenza the conception of agricultural work, in its three main features (but the same is true of the secondary features as well) of "self-realization", "fatiguingness" ("physical strength") and "technological specialization", does not influence the adolescents' choices, which therefore depend on external factors unrelated to this conception. Or rather, the generalized internalization of these images of agricultural work which all the young people have developed, whatever choice they may make, reflects an image which permeates the entire society in which they live. And since this image of agricultural work is decidedly negative (as a reading of the profile in Figure 1 shows), it is clear that in their social system there is a generalized rejection of agricultural work. In this case the image of agricultural work exercises its influence not so much on the choices of individual adolescents as on this class as a whole, inasmuch as the cultural value system of the environment in which they live legitimizes such an image.

Rather, at Cosenza the adolescents' choices are conditioned by the image relating to the "technological specialization" of industrial work. This means that a decisive role is played precisely by the "technological specialization" of a job which is per se specialized, as industrial jobs are.

The cultural conditionings examined acquire even greater cognitive importance if one tries to identify the modalities of actualization, and hence in what sense each of the vocational or scholastic choices is influenced. To this end, Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 gather together the choices in the geometric space formed by the cultural images of agricultural and industrial work which condition them significantly (or nearly significantly).

The choices are thus located in this space, and the relationship of each of them with the others can be interpreted more readily. This can be stated in the following points.

(1) The concept of agricultural work as having a high "self-realizing potential" and as being not very fatiguing ("physical strength"), and vice versa of industrial work as having a low self-realizing potential and as being very fatiguing, orientates the adolescents of Treviso towards agrarian studies (Figures 3 and 4).

At the opposite pole are those adolescents orientated towards industrial studies or immediate jobs outside the field of agriculture. They highly value the self-realization ensured by industrial work, and correspondingly underestimate that offered by agricultural work. Likewise, they do not consider industrial work very fatiguing, while for agricultural work their judgment of the amount of physical labor required does not differ from that given by adolescents opting for other futures.

Thirdly, the position of the adolescents orientated in the direction of immediate agricultural work or else "the profession of housewife" may be interpreted as meaning that, though agricultural work is not considered very fatiguing, it does not give scope for "self-realization" either (in the sense of realizing oneself through one's work), whereas industrial work is considered not only easy (not very fatiguing), but also relatively "self-realizing" and gratifying (with respect to those who are oriented towards other choices). One possible conclusion is that these young people have already had experience of agricultural work (and are thus used to its fatiguingness), and are disenchanted with its potential to ensure "self-realization". The openness towards, if not overestimation of, industrial work on the part of those who wish to go to work immediately in the fields seems to indicate that their choice of such work is imposed, rather than really desired, by needs extrinsic to their will, whether these be located in the family, the farm, or the society, or all of them together.

Lastly, adolescents orientated towards studies leading to jobs in the tertiary sector, or indicating only a general desire to study or work, occupy intermediate positions in their judgment on the "potential for self-realization" and fatiguingness ("physical strength") of agricultural and industrial work.

This model of allocation of the vocational groups in their perception of agricultural and industrial work (agricultural/industrial vocations; other vocations; industrial/agricultural vocations) confirms the hypothesis that farming populations feel the contrast of their world with that of

industry more keenly than with activities in the tertiary sector.

(2) The adolescents of Reggio Emilia (Figure 5) are also influenced in their choices by their perception of agricultural work as being more or less "self-realizing", and, secondarily, by the fact that it is highly "technologically specialized". Those who consider agricultural work "self-realizing" and "specialized" opt for agriculture, either by going to work in it immediately, or by taking agrarian studies. Those who have developed an opposite opinion of agricultural work are orientated towards industrial jobs instead. Thirdly, those who are orientated towards studies leading to jobs in the tertiary sector, or who express a general desire to study, occupy an intermediate and non-conditioning position with regard to the image of agricultural work.

The conditionings are very clear. They are connected, both in tendency and for the conditioning components of agricultural work, with those expressed by the young people of Treviso in their choices.

But the discrimination in their choices is made only by the perception of agricultural work, and not by that of work in industry. This means that the semantic connotations of the concept of "work in industry" do not motivate the preference for such jobs for their own sake, i.e. for the greater or lesser "specialization", "physical labor", and "self-realization" implied by them.

(3) The adolescents of Latina (Figures 6 and 7) are significantly influenced in their choices by their perception of the greater or lesser "fatiguingness" both of agricultural and of industrial labor. Moreover, they are motivated by the different remunerativeness of the former and the different degree of "self-realization" of the latter.

They are conditioned by their perception of agricultural work in the following manner. Those who consider it "fairly" remunerative (and hence satisfying and secure) consider it also "very" fatiguing (their choice is "work in general"); on the contrary, those who consider it less fatiguing consider it also not very remunerative (and hence not very satisfying and secure). This state of affairs (viz., the contradictory character attributed to agricultural work) influences their choices in ways which cannot be directly interpreted; in any case, those who choose agriculture always consider it less fatiguing than do the others. There is also a certain

difference between those who wish to go to work in the fields immediately and those who prefer to become farmers after a period of study; the former consider agriculture much more remunerative than the latter (who, perhaps because they are aware that it can be made more remunerative by further preparation, choose to attend agrarian institutes).

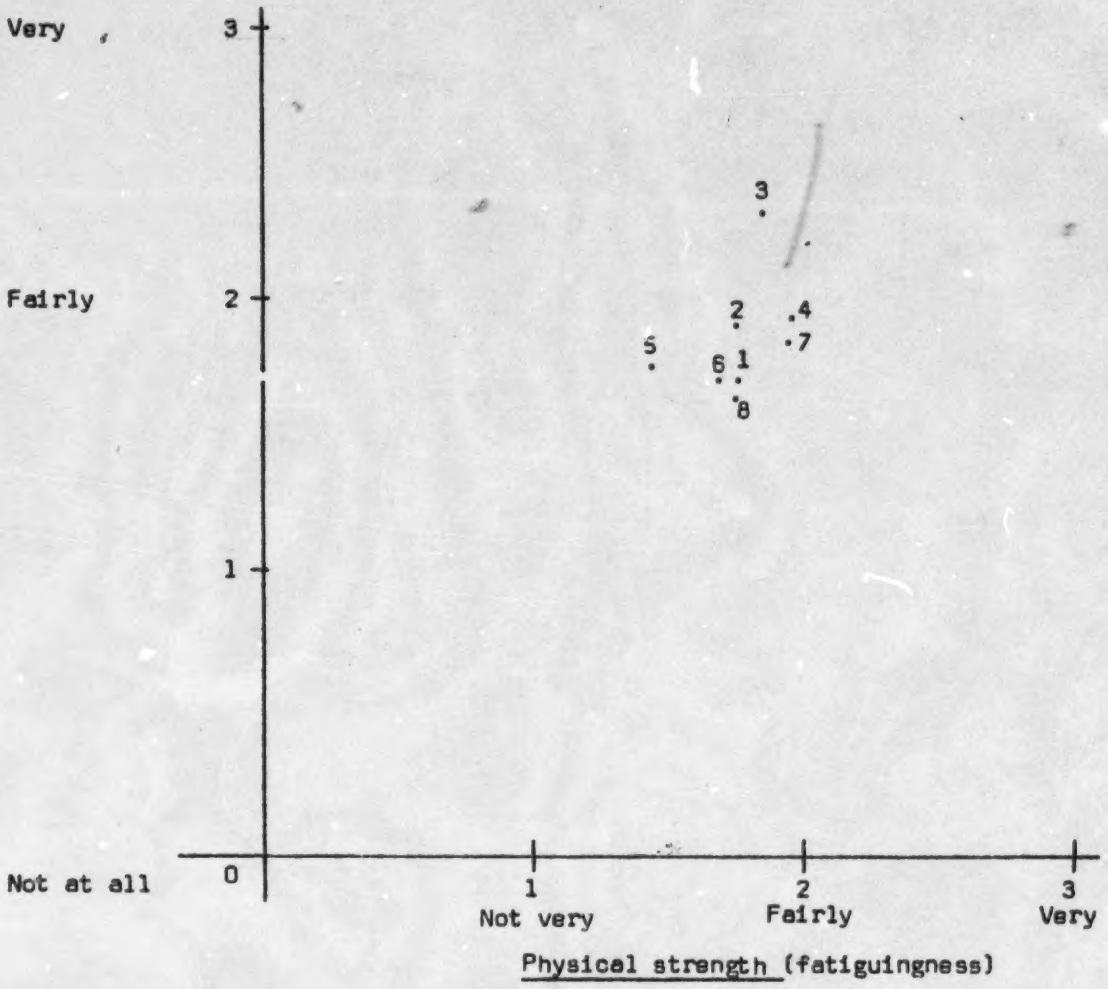
The "fatiguingness" ("physical strength") of industrial work is the discriminating factor between those adolescents orientated towards agrarian or tertiary studies or jobs from those who are thinking of industrial studies or jobs, or who indicate only a general desire to work or study: the former consider it more fatiguing than the latter.

(4) Lastly, the adolescents of Cosenza (Figures 8 and 9) are not conditioned in their choices by the characteristics of agricultural work resulting from the factorial analysis, viz. "technological specialization", "physical strength" (fatiguingness) and "self-realization". Thus the choice of agriculture as a vocation may be interpreted as being based on instrumental rather than expressive motivations, that is, as not being chosen for its own sake.

This is further confirmed by the fact that the only aspect of agricultural work which has any influence on the choice is its remunerativeness, considered also as a source of satisfaction and security. In short, those who wish to undertake agrarian studies, as well as those who indicate a general desire to study or who still do not know what to decide to do after having finished their obligatory schooling, consider agricultural work more remunerative than those who are directly oriented towards industrial studies or who indicate a general desire to work.

What impresses and influences the choice of the adolescents of Cosenza is the "technological specialization" of industrial work. Those orientated towards non-agricultural vocations think it is very specialized, while those orientated towards a just as immediate employment in agriculture consider industrial work not very specialized. All the other choices are located between these two extremes in the evaluation of the degree of specialization of industrial work.

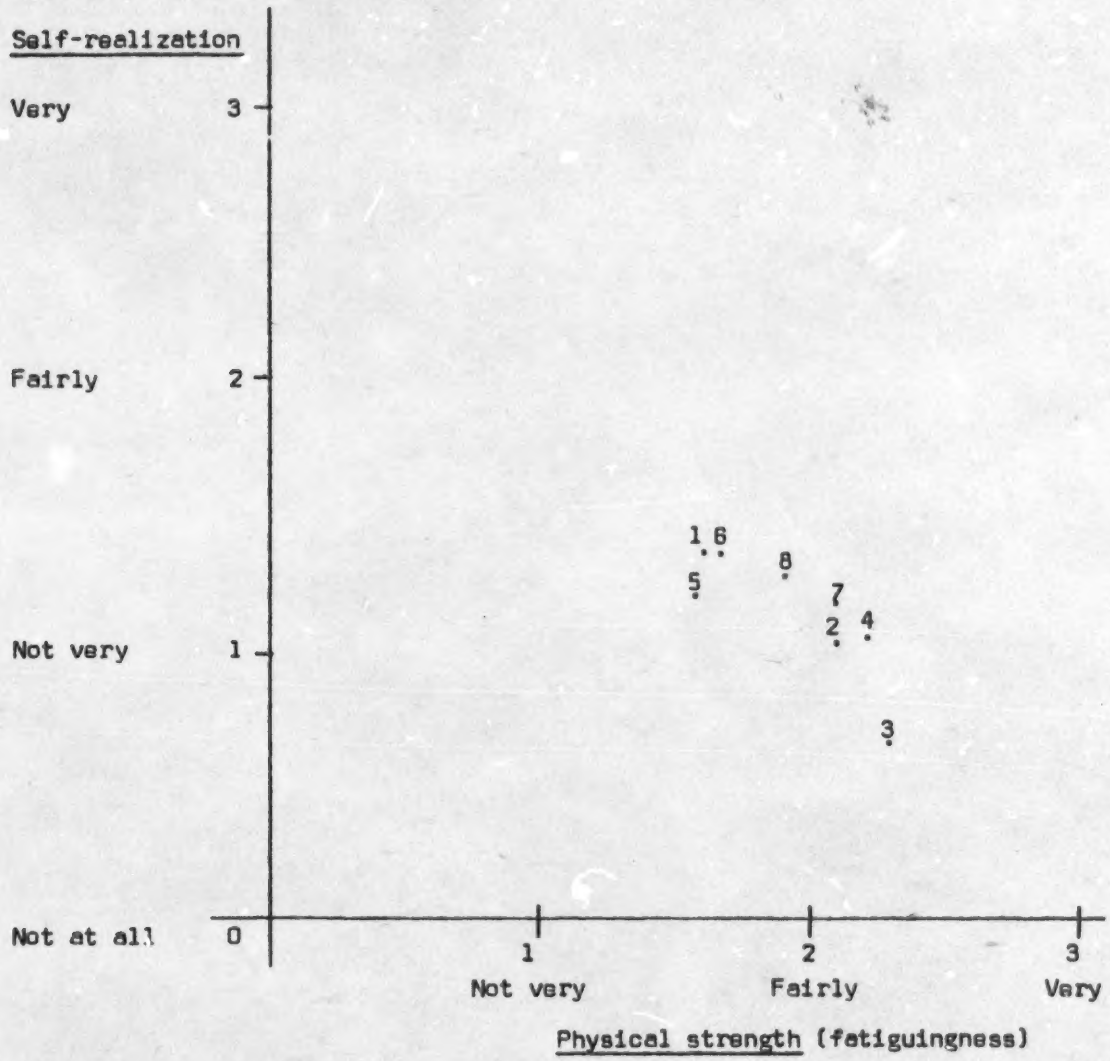
Figure 3 - The choices made by the adolescents of Treviso on the basis of the criteria of self-realization and physical strength (fatiguingness) implied by agricultural work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of schools
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

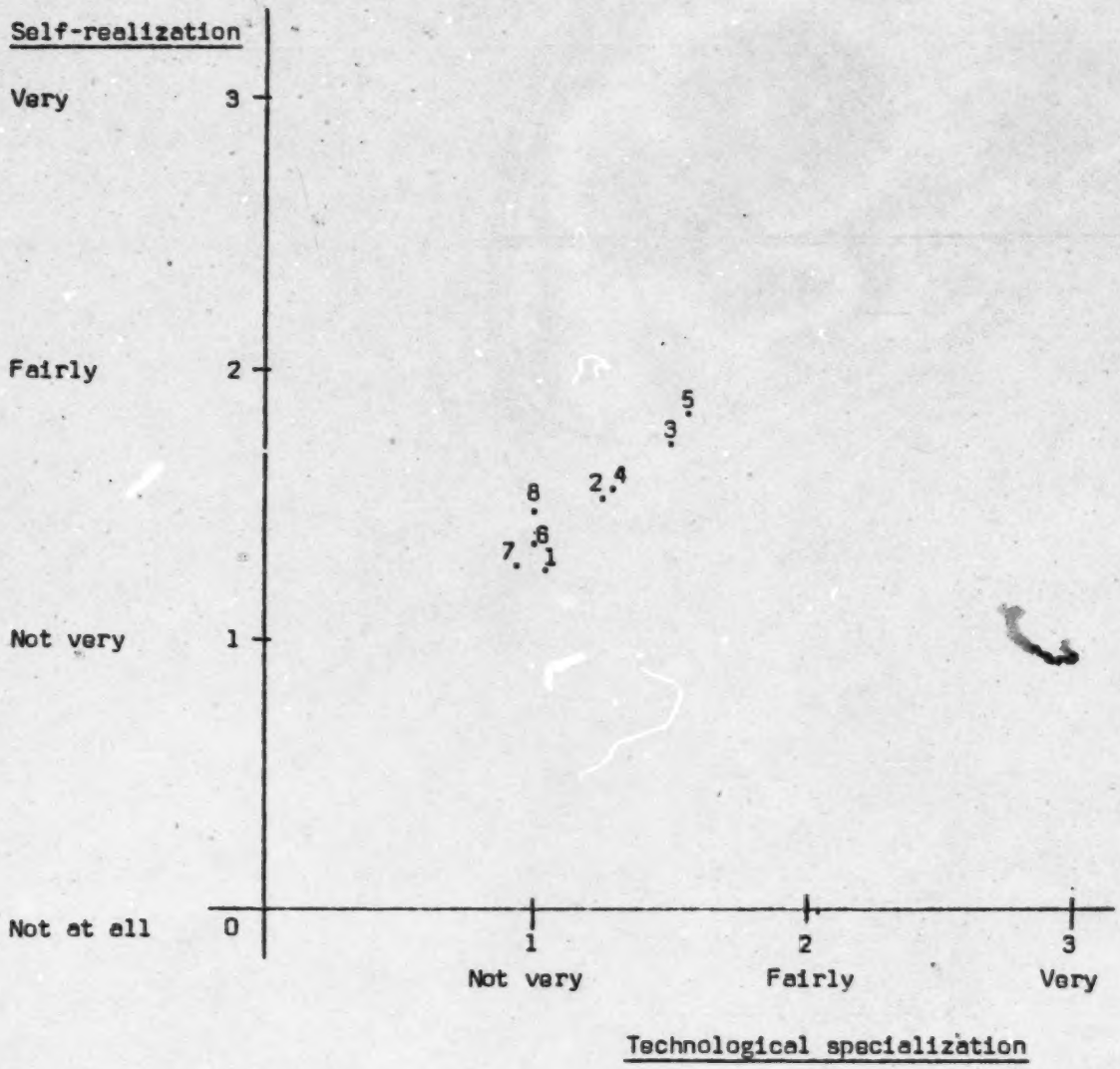
Figure 4 - The choices made by the adolescents of Treviso on the basis of the criteria of self-realization and physical strength (fatiguingness) implied by industrial work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

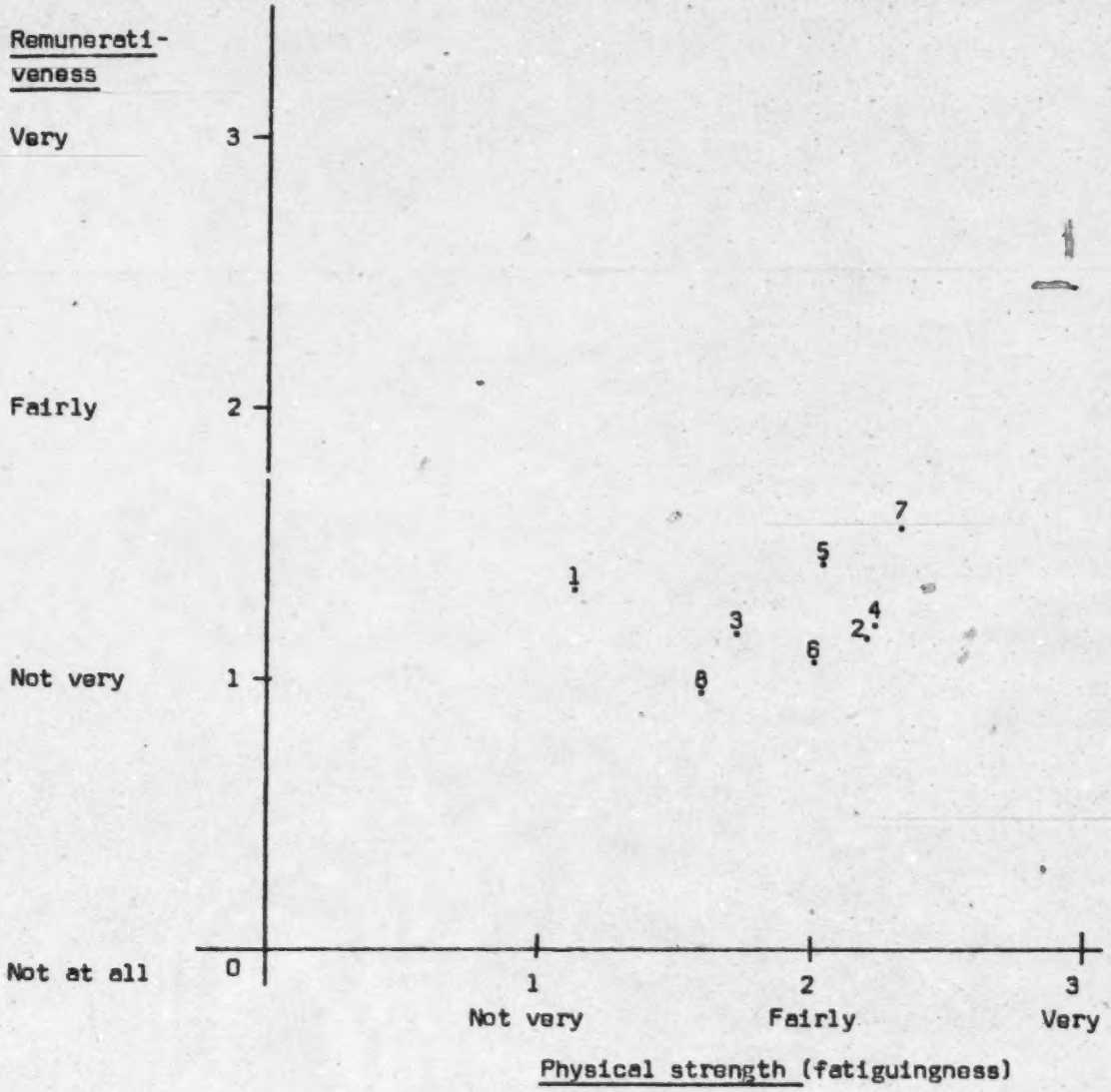
Figure 5 - The choices made by the adolescents of Reggio E. on the basis of the criteria of self-realization and technological specialization implied by agricultural work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

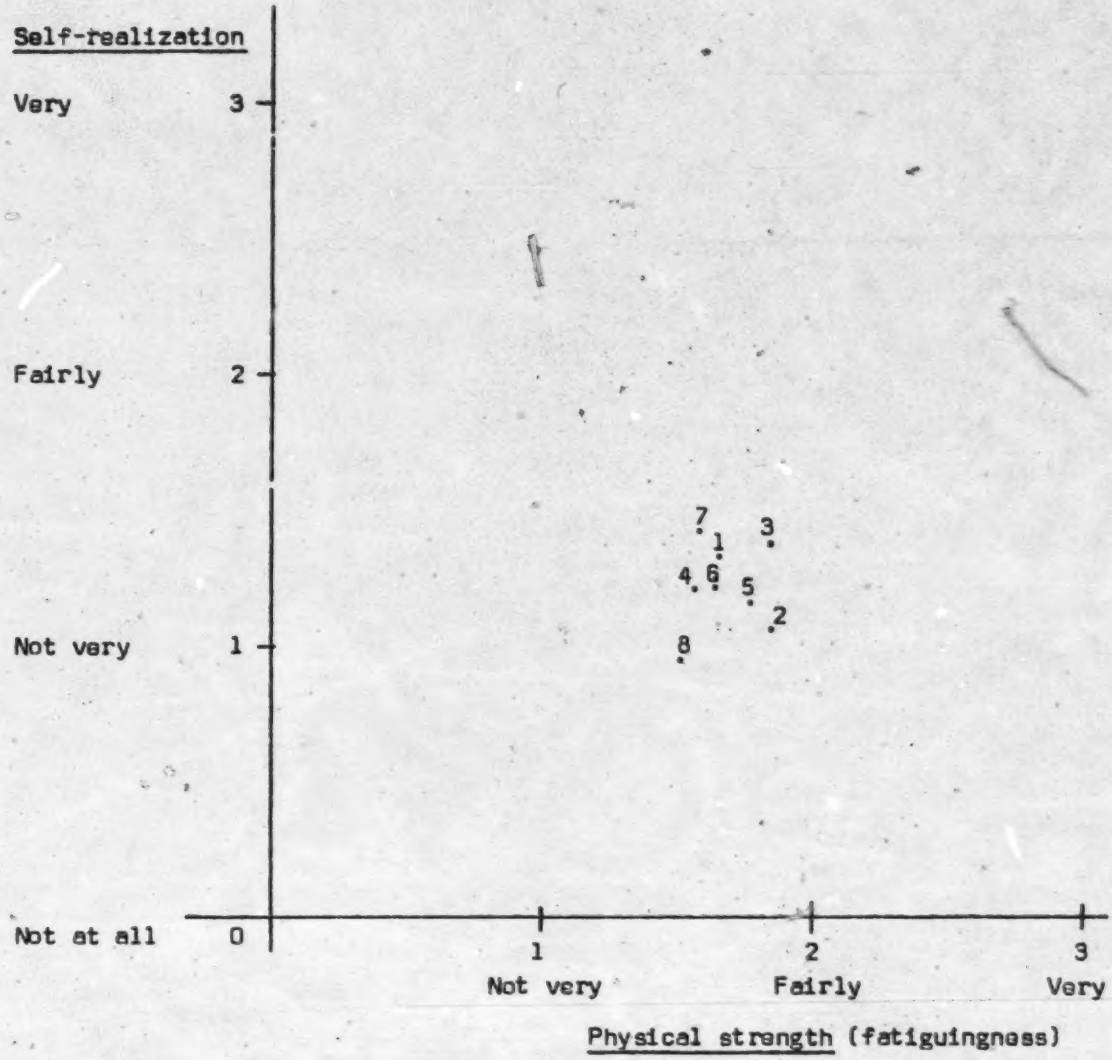
Figure 6 - The choices made by the adolescents of Latina on the basis of the criteria of remunerativeness and physical strength (fatiguingness) implied by agricultural work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

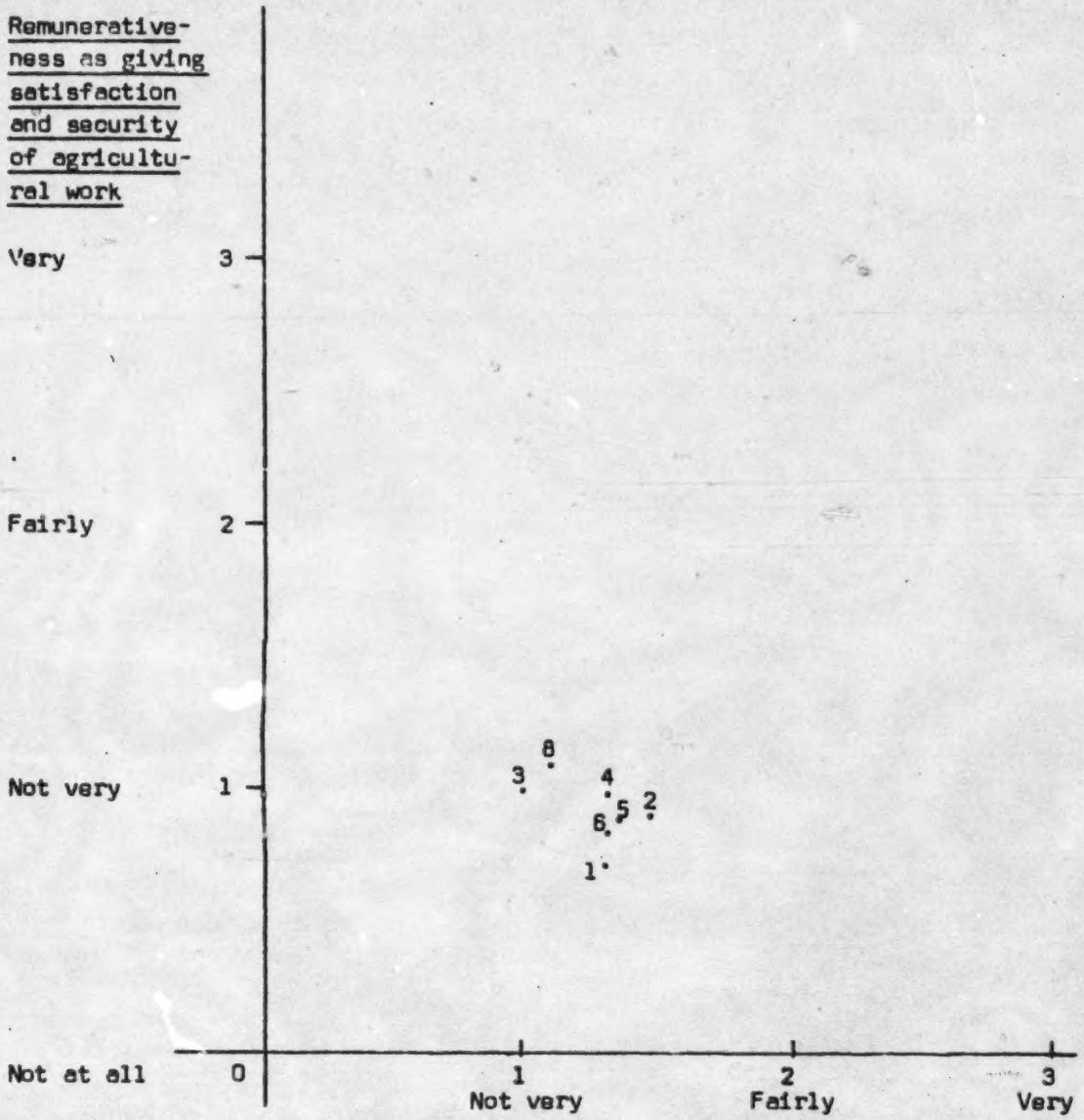
Figure 7 - The choices made by the adolescents of Latina on the basis of the criteria of self-realization and physical strength (fatiguingness) implied by industrial work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

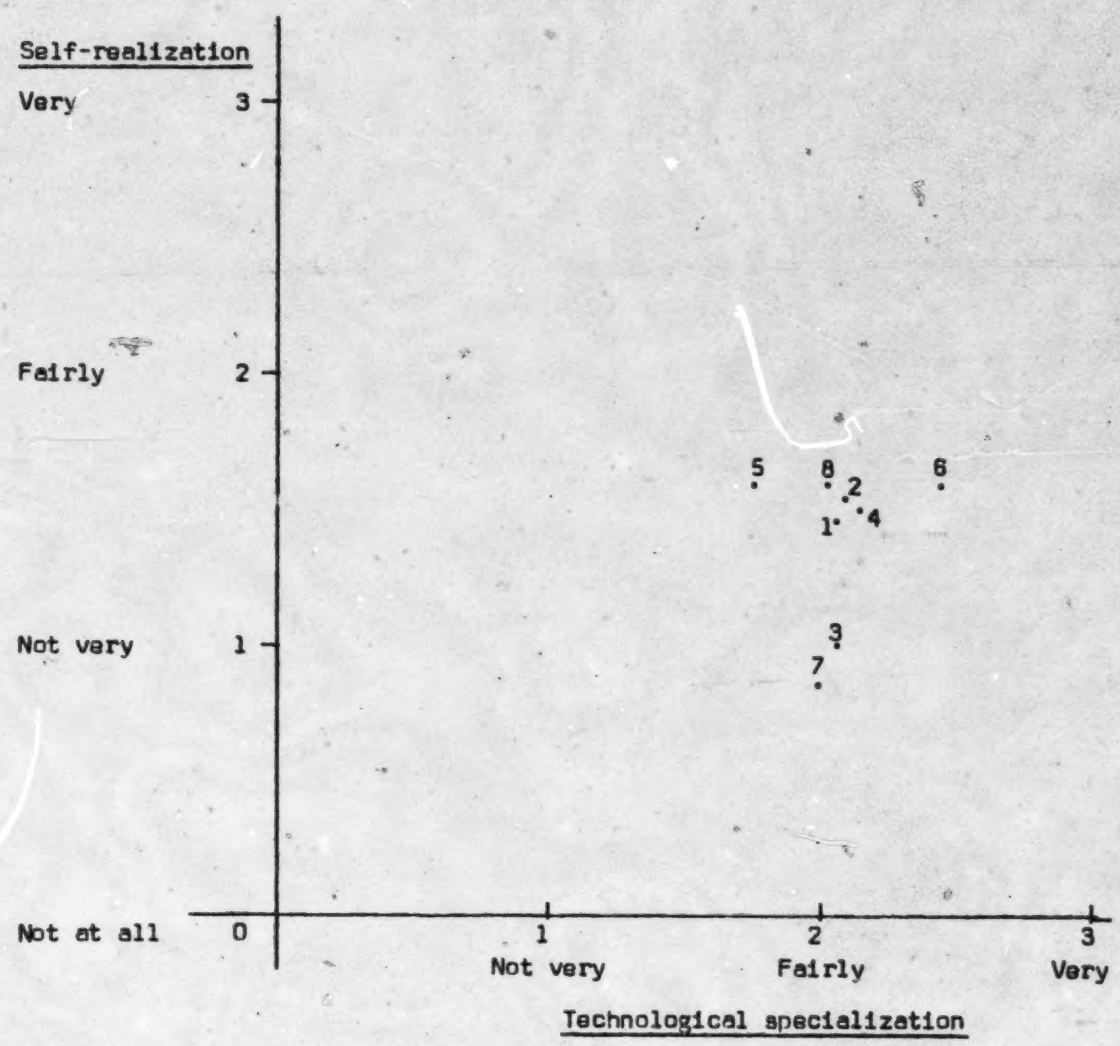
Figure 8 - The choices made by the adolescents of Cosenza on the basis of the criteria of remunerativeness and security implied by agricultural work and by industrial work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

Figure 9 - The choices made by the adolescents of Cosenza on the basis of the criteria of self-realization and technological specialization implied by industrial work



Legend of the choices:

1. Industrial vocational/technical high schools
2. Commercial vocational/technical high schools, grammar schools, teacher-training schools, etc.
3. Agrarian vocational/technical high schools
4. Continue studying, without specifying in what type of school
5. Agricultural work, housewife
6. Specified non-agricultural jobs
7. Go to work (non specific)
8. Does not know

6. Conclusions

To sum up, these vocational images condition the adolescents' choices according to models which are modified as one passes from the northern provinces to the central-southern ones, from the more modern ones to the more traditional ones. Thus, at Treviso and at Reggio Emilia the choice of a vocation (immediate or future), whether in agriculture or in industry (or in an intermediate tertiary position) is motivated by the personal self-realization it can offer; secondly, the degree of fatiguing physical labor required is important for the young people of Treviso, while the specialization (of agricultural work) is conditioning for those of Reggio Emilia. There is no doubt that their choices are fundamentally influenced by "achievement" which determines success in economic action. This is even clearer at Reggio Emilia, where even the degree of "specialization" of agricultural work is a discriminating factor in deciding for or against this type of activity.

In the central-southern provinces, the choices are rooted in concrete and instrumental aspects of agricultural or industrial work. In fact, at Latina the degree of fatiguing physical labor required in agricultural or industrial work is the deciding factor in the choices. For the young people of Cosenza, the choices are still conditioned by instrumental aspects of the job examined; viz., the specialization of industrial work and the remunerativeness of agricultural work.

The conclusion seems substantially justified that in these last two social environments the choice, whether for agriculture or not, is based on instrumental motivations which are both external and internal to the job itself, as well as to the "self-realization" that it permits.

Bibliography

B. BENVENUTI, A. GASPARINI, Contadino: una scelta? (Peasant: a choice?), Paravia, Torino 1976

A.M.BOILEAU, R. STRASSOLDO, E. SUSSI, Temi di sociologia delle relazioni etniche (Themes of sociology of ethnic relations), I.S.I.G., Gorizia 1975

E.F. BORGATTA (ed.), Sociological Methodological 1969, Jossey-Bass Inc., San Francisco, California, 1969

P. CALEGARI, Attività lavorative future indicate da ragazzi di 13-14 anni (Future vocations indicated by 13-14 agers), in "Scuola e didattica", n.6, 1973

E.A. FRIEDMANN, R.J. HAVIGHURST, The meaning of work and retirement, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1954

R.M. GASSON, The choice of farming as an occupation, in "Sociologia Ruralis", n.9 (2), 1969

R.M. GASSON, Socioeconomic status and orientation to work: the case of farmers, in "Sociologia Ruralis", n.14 (2), 1974

P. GUIDICINI, La sfida perdente (The losing challenge), Angeli, Milano 1974

A.O.HALLER, W.H. SEWELL, Occupational Choices of Wisconsin Farm Boys, in "Rural Sociology", n.32 (1), 1967

H.H. HARMAN, Modern Factor Analysis, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1967

G.K. INGHAM, Size of industrial organization and worker behaviour, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1970

O.F. LITTERER, Stereotypes, in "Journal of Social Psychology", n.4, 1933

A.H. MASLOW, Motivation and personality, Harper, New York 1954

S.A. RICE, Stereotypes: A source of error in judging human character, in "Journal of personal research", n.5, 1926

M. ROSENBERG, E.A. SUCHMANN, R.K. GOLDSEN, Occupations and values, Free Press of Glencoe, New York 1957

D.E. SUPER, The psychology of careers, Harper, New York 1957

D.C. THORNS, Work and its definition, in "The Sociological Review", n. 19 (4), 1971

G. TONOLO, S. DE PIERI, Scelte professionali giovanili (Adolescents' vocational choices), Trevigiana, Treviso 1968